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Adult Education and Migration in Scotland: Policies and Practices for Inclusion

Abstract

Globally, there is an ‘inadequate’ amount of data on the participation of migrants and refugees in adult learning and education (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning, 2016, p.11). This paper makes a contribution to filling this knowledge gap by presenting new empirical research and analysis on the broad adult learning and education (ALE) policy framework for refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland. Scotland has responded to the migration ‘crisis’ in Europe through various coordinated policies that explicitly promote inclusion for refugees and asylum seekers. Drawing on Schweisfurth’s Learner-Centred Education framework (2013), this paper presents qualitative data on four aspects of community-based ‘English for Speakers of Other Languages’ (ESOL): motivation, fluid nature of knowledge in the classroom, flexible delivery of provision and friendly classroom relations. Findings revealed evidence of good practice, skilled provision of community-based ESOL and underfunding. Scotland is a leader in Europe with respect to inclusive policy but underfunding and jurisdictional authority could undermine its promise.

Key Words: Migration, Adult Learning and Education policy, ‘English for Speakers of Other Languages’ (ESOL), migrant learners, Scotland, 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, Learner-centred education.

Introduction

The UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (2016) recognises that there is an ‘inadequate’ amount of data on the global participation of migrants and refugees in adult learning and education (p.11). Despite the agreed commitment of UN Member States to broaden access and participation in adult learning and education (ALE) for disadvantaged groups, the most recent *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* (GRALE III) indicates that 56% of countries who responded to the survey did not report on the participation of migrants and refugees (p.53). This paper makes a contribution to filling this knowledge gap by presenting new empirical research and analysis on the policy framework for refugees and asylum seekers and adult learning and education (ALE) in Scotland. We highlight how a small state (Britton, Schweisfurth and Slade, 2018; Field, 2015) has responded to the migration ‘crisis’ in Europe positively through various coordinated policies that promote inclusion for refugees and asylum seekers ‘from the day they arrive’ (Scottish Government, 2018a). We explore how community-based adult educators in Scotland deliver ‘learner-centred’ (Schweisfurth, 2013) ‘English for Speakers of Other Languages’ (ESOL) classes for refugees and asylum seekers within a social practice framework (CLD Standards Council, n.d.; Education Scotland, 2011). Drawing on Schweisfurth’s Learner-Centred Education framework (2013), this paper presents data on four aspects of community-based ESOL: learner motivation, nature of knowledge in the ESOL classroom, delivery of provision and classroom relations. The data analysis revealed evidence of good practice, skilled provision of community-based ESOL and underfunding. Scotland is a leader in Europe with respect to inclusive policy for refugees and asylum seekers but underfunding could undermine its promise.

This paper begins by outlining the policy framework in Scotland that impacts on migrants and adult learning and education in the community-based sector. The research project is described, including the methodology and the conceptual framework (Schweisfurth, 2013). Data from the research project is then analysed along four themes - learner motivation,

the nature of knowledge, technique, and classroom relationships. The discussion reflects on the findings and raises some challenges for the future.

Policy framework in Scotland

The Scottish Government positions itself as a ‘progressive outward looking nation’ in relation to migration policy (2018b, p.5). In sharp contrast to the other parts of the UK, many parts of the EU and internationally, there is a recognised need to encourage more migrants to ‘work, to join family, or to study’ (p.6) in Scotland. Self-described as ‘a diverse, complex, multicultural and multilingual nation’ (Scottish Government, 2015, p. 10) Scotland has a long history of out-migration and population decline, evidenced by the large Scottish diaspora. Like many other countries it also has an ageing population, with those aged ‘75 and over’ projected to increase by nearly 80% over the next 25 years. People living longer has implications for ‘funding allocations, tax revenues, pensions, education, health and social care provision’ (National Records for Scotland 2018, p.7). The National Records of Scotland (2018) state that ‘Scotland’s future population growth is likely to be entirely reliant on migration’ (p.10). Over the last 20 years, migration has helped build the numbers of people living and working in Scotland. In mid-June 2017, there were 5.42 million people recorded residing in Scotland, with 23,900 more people coming to Scotland than leaving (The National Records of Scotland 2017, p.10). The majority of migrants arriving to Scotland ‘tend to be young and economically active’ and ‘in general, arrive with qualifications, so have the potential to complement the stock of human capital in the host country’ (Scottish Government 2016, p.7). The Scottish Government therefore wishes to encourage more migrants into Scotland and mitigate against some of these long-term demographic challenges for the country.

Who are Scotland’s migrants?

The term ‘migrant’ refers to ‘a person not currently resident in Scotland who moves to Scotland with the intention of remaining here for more than 12 months’ (Scottish Government 2018b, p.9). Different categories of migrant are counted in the migration flows to Scotland, including UK nationals, Irish nationals, EU citizens, EEA nationals and Swiss nationals, and international migrants. The migrant population refers to ‘non-UK nationals’, ‘split between EU and other international migration’ (Scottish Government 2018b, p.9). The National Records of Scotland (2018) estimated that in mid-2017, 7% of Scotland’s 5.42 million population were non-British migrants (378,000 people) and of these 235,000 were EU citizens and 142,000 were other international migrants (p.89). The latest UK Census (2011) reported that 370,000 migrants were living in Scotland making up 7% of the whole population. The most common countries of birth (outside of the UK) for people residing in Scotland were (in descending order of migrant population size) Poland, India, Republic of Ireland, Germany, Pakistan, United States, China, South Africa, Nigeria, Canada, Australia, Hong Kong, France, Italy and Spain (COSLA 2015, p.5).

Two broad definitions of ‘economic’ or ‘forced’ migrants are used by the UK Government to understand the migration flows. Economic migrants are people who come to the UK with the aim of working, studying or setting up a business. These migrants can come from the European Union or from outside of the EU. International economic migrants come through a ‘Points Based System’ and must apply for a visa in order to work and live in Scotland. At the time of writing, EU citizens have the right to free movement around Europe, although this may change as the British Government prepares for Brexit and if the UK have to leave the European Single Market and Customs Union. Forced migrants are people who come to the UK to ‘seek protection or who are resettled here by the Home Office and

UNCHR' (the UN Refugee Agency). Those awaiting a decision on their claim for protection are 'asylum seekers' and those who have been granted protection or resettled here are 'refugees'.' (COSLA 2015, p.4). The Scottish Government understands a refugee to be 'somebody that is unable to live in their home country due to fears of persecution' (Scottish Government 2013, p.3). An asylum seeker does not have the same rights as a refugee in Britain and is classed as 'someone who has asked a Government for refugee status and is waiting to hear the outcome of their application' (p.3). This review process is often lengthy and leaves migrants in a state of limbo.

While the UK Government legislates over immigration for the whole of Britain the Scottish Government is responsible for the 'devolved issue' of integration of refugees and asylum seekers (Migration Advisory Committee, 2018). In Scotland, refugees have full access to medical treatment, education, housing and employment. It is thought that only a 'small proportion' of migrants come to Scotland seeking asylum (Scottish Government 2018b, p.10). Glasgow is currently the main 'dispersal area' for asylum seekers seeking support in Scotland (Scottish Government 2017, p.87) and approximately 10% of the UK's dispersed asylum population is accommodated in Glasgow (Scottish Government 2018, p.28). The number of asylum seekers are difficult to quantify, as records are not kept on 'precisely how many refugees have been granted some form of refugee status and remain in Scotland' (Education Scotland 2015, p.14). The Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) reported that in 2008, there were 2,859 asylum seekers in 'dispersed accommodation' in Scotland, representing just '0.05%' of the Scottish population (Scottish Refugee Council, 2018).

The 'New Scots' Strategy: Integrating Refugees and Asylum Seekers into Scotland

In 2013, the Scottish Government launched a three year 'New Scots' strategy to support the integration of asylum seekers and refugees into Scotland's communities. The tone of the strategy was welcoming and promoted inclusion; notably, migrants are framed as 'new Scots'. The vision is for Scotland to be a place where 'refugees are able to build a new life from the day they arrive and to realise their full potential with the support of mainstream services; and where they become active members of our communities with strong social relationships' (Scottish Government 2017, p.10). The aim was to develop a policy with a 'holistic understanding of refugee integration and shared values' (Scottish Government 2017, p.5) considering the employment, housing health and education needs of refugees and asylum seekers, and of the host communities.

The New Scots strategy highlighted the unmet demand for the provision of adult education in the form of 'English for Speakers of Other Languages' (ESOL) courses (Scottish Government 2018, p.53). In order to achieve integration and greater community cohesion, it was recognised that opportunities were needed for migrants to develop their English language skills; this is a shared understanding with UK policy makers (Bloch, 2002; Cannell and Hewett, 2008, p.3). Key barriers to educational opportunities for asylum seekers and refugees were identified, including a lack of knowledge about available ESOL courses, a lack of access to childcare and a lack of understanding of funding or scholarships. In 2016, the Scottish Government undertook a review of the impact of migration and migrant need through a consultative process with over 130 stakeholders including ESOL learners. The participants stressed the importance of English language to enhance integration:

'The importance of language in relation to migrant integration has been emphasised in several qualitative studies conducted in Scotland. It affects access to information, employability and engagement; the ability to make friends, adapt to new

environments and deal with loss and loneliness. The process of learning a language in itself encourages mutual adaptation of migrants and the host society' (Scottish Government 2016, p.11).

The second 'New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy (2018-2022)', informed by the consultation, refines and deepens the Scottish Government's vision for the further inclusion and integration of refugees and asylum seekers arriving and living in Scotland. A key difference in this revised strategy is the inclusion of language as a standalone theme. In the first New Scot's strategy document, English language skills were recognised to be 'a priority for refugees to enable them to settle into communities, feel safe and confident accessing services and to pursue employment or education' (Scottish Government 2017, p.62). In the second New Scots strategy (2018-2022) language is identified as crucial to all elements of integration including employment, further education, housing, healthcare and other services. The strategy identifies that 'being able to communicate confidently with people, including neighbours, shop workers or members of a local community group, helps people to feel settled, build social connections and be involved in their local area' (Scottish Government 2018, p.51). It revisits the issue of local ESOL class availability, childcare and transport costs. It highlights the time it takes to develop English language skills and the need to provide opportunities for learning beyond the classroom, such as through 'conversational practice' or through 'language tailored to support employment or personal goals' (p.53).

This 'New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy' (2018-2022) works in conjunction with a range of other policies, formal strategies, and aspirations. In the Scottish Government's 'Welcoming Our Learners: Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015-2020: The English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Strategy for Adults in Scotland', a commitment was given to 'high quality English language provision... to enable participation and integration to Scottish life through work, study, family and local community' (Scottish Government 2017, p.54). The strategy highlights partnerships working specifically the role of Further Education colleges and the need for community-based provision of classes for all migrants. ESOL qualifications, delivered by the Colleges, have been developed by the Scottish Qualifications Authority for six levels from basic literacy to Level 6 (Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework, 2014).

The ESOL Strategy 2015-2020 is framed within a broad range of policies that address both economic and social purposes. There are related policies for adults (Adult Literacies in Scotland 2020; Statement of Ambition on Adult Learning 2014), children (Community Language Learning in Scotland: a 1+2 Approach 2012; Curriculum for Excellence; Early Years Collaborative 2012), youth (16+ Learning Choices 2010), workers (Working for Growth: A refresh of the employability framework for Scotland 2012), communities (The Requirements for Community Learning and Development (Scotland) Regulations 2013), and older adults (Statement of Ambition on Adult Learning 2014). ESOL provision for migrants is also explicitly connected to key strategies that address financing, governance and service provision: the Government Economic Strategy, Strategic Guidance for Community Planning Partnerships (2012), and The New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities (2013). Taken together this reflects a holistic approach to lifelong learning for migrants, across many policy areas, at a state level. These policies are also aligned to the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (Scottish Government, n.d.; United Nations, n.d.).

While the focus of this paper is on ESOL and we are examining the experience of migrants as language learners, it needs to be stated that migrants are more than language

learners. Many migrants are fluent in English when they arrive in Scotland and do not need basic, intermediary or advanced ESOL. These migrants will be in need of a different form of adult education, such as access to college or university courses or specialised ESOL for the workplace. Their needs are wider than ESOL and it can be difficult for migrants to access college courses due to cost or availability of courses. While the Scottish policies are robust and integrated, there has been severe underfunding of the sector (Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, 2018). Most of the ESOL provision in Scotland is done in community organisations (74%), and relies heavily on volunteers to deliver the classes (Education Scotland, 2018).

Conceptual framework: Learner-centred education

The Scottish ESOL Strategy was conceptualised to work within the broader adult learning frameworks: the Statement of Ambition on Adult Learning (2014) and the Requirements for Community Learning and Development (2013) (CLD). As guidance documents for the provision of ESOL they reinforce a key principle of learner-centred education, which, according to the Statement of Ambition on Adult Learning builds ‘on the interests and the motives of the adult learner’ (Education Scotland 2014, p.3), ‘designed around the needs of learners and should be simple, transparent and accessible’ (Scottish Government 2011a, p.12). Framed within a CLD approach, this type of learner-centred community-based learning is designed to ‘empower people, individually and collectively, to make positive changes in their lives and in their communities through learning’ (Scottish Government, 2015, p.3). The learner-centred approach can clearly be seen in the objectives of ESOL policy:

‘(1) ESOL learners access and recognise learning opportunities throughout all stages, changes and circumstances in their lives; (2) ESOL learners co-design their learning experience (3) ESOL learners transform their lives and communities through learning choices in personal, work, family and community settings; (4) ESOL learners effectively influence strategy and policy at local and national levels; and (5) ESOL learners are effectively supported in their learning journeys. (p. 20-21)

These objectives are underpinned by adult learning principles informed by a range of adult learning theories: andragogy (Knowles, 1970), critical pedagogy (Freire, 2003; hooks, 1994), transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 2009). These theories, taken together, stress flexible approaches to curriculum and delivery, using curriculum that is relevant to learners’ lives and working with learners to empower. Specifically the Statement of Ambition on Adult Learning (2014) outlines a lifelong, lifewide and learner-centred (LCE) approach to adult learning and education. In the ESOL policy notions of co-design and relevant curriculum signal LCE approaches. Schweisfurth (2013) points out that ‘LCE is not simple to define, not least because of the plethora of associated terms’ (p.9). We draw on her definition of learner-centred education (2013), as ‘a pedagogical approach which gives learners, and demands from them, a relatively high level of active control over the content and process of learning. What is learnt, and how, are therefore shaped by learners’ needs, capacities and interests’ (p.20). LCE as a concept encompasses a wide theoretical ground. Gravani (2019) notes that LCE educational research includes numerous theoretical traditions, from heutagogy to problem-based learning (p. 199). In medical education Smith, Mitchell and Bower (2009) underpin their understanding of LCE in medical education with self-determination theory (p. 801) while Stickrath, Aagaard and Anderson (2013) draw on constructivist learning theory. Schweisfurth (2013) has developed a framework with four key elements of LCE (learner

motivation, the nature of knowledge, technique, and classroom relationships) which are considered as interrelated curricula rather than fixed binaries (2013, p.11). These elements are defined in the following sections. We wanted to work with this framework as it was developed by incorporate varying theoretical insights. The non-binary interrelated elements allow for a nuanced understanding of the complexity involved in delivering ‘LCE’.

Schweisfurth’s framework has been influential in an international comparative education context mostly related to schooling (Brinkmann, 2015). She has argued that Learner centred education is a travelling policy, moving between jurisdictions as a concept without considering the local context. Her work seeks to add clarity and complexity to the concept of learner centred education. Given that ‘learner centredness’ as a concept is now prevalent in adult education policy discourse, her argument about LCE as a travelling policy is even more relevant. Extending her framework into adult education promises to shed critical insight into current international debates about the operationalising of lifelong learning in the achievement of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, n.d.).

The Research Project

This paper is based on findings from an international research project, ‘Evaluating Learner Centred Education (LCE) as a Tool for Social Change in Adult Education (AE) programmes for Migrants: a European Comparative Study’ funded by the Open University of Cyprus. This international comparative project explored the extent to which adult education programmes for migrants in Cyprus, Scotland, Malta and Estonia were Learner Centred (Schweisfurth, 2013). The study gave voice to the experiences and perceptions of adult learners, their educators and administrators of AE programmes in the four European countries. In each European case study we conducted semi-structured interviews with learners, teachers, and administrators and conducted observation of language classes for migrants; the context varied dramatically across the countries. The research questions were: (1) Are the adult education programmes engaging to migrants and motivating them to learn?; (2) How do the programmes build on migrants’ existing knowledge?; (3) To what extent is the curriculum relevant to migrants’ lives and perceived future needs?; and (4) To what extent does assessment follow up these principles?

In Scotland the research was conducted with a public sector housing organisation that delivers integration services for migrants and ‘New Scots’ arriving into the city, through the provision of flexible, community-based adult learning opportunities. The Centre was selected and accessed through a work connection of a member of the research team, who had heard of the innovative community development work being undertaken by Government agencies to tackle the diverse learning needs of the migrants residing in the community. The University of Glasgow research team approached the Centre staff and asked if they might be willing to take part in the study. The GCDT team were interested and allowed access to the teaching sessions and communal areas. In total, in 2017 the research team accessed the centre to gather information and capture their observations on five different occasions over the course of one month.

We conducted five in-depth, semi-structured interviews at the centre. The first was with the Programme Coordinator, who managed the teaching staff, the provision of ESOL classes and the service delivery for migrants accessing the centre. We then interviewed an ESOL Tutor, who had a wealth of experience in teaching diverse migrant groups; originally from Poland, she understood the challenges of learning an additional language. Finally we spoke to two adult learners from the advanced ESOL class, who were both female and

originally from Pakistan, and a female adult learner from the introductory ESOL class, who was from Romania. All three adult learners were mothers and keen to learn English to help their family integrate into their host Scottish community. It is important to note that the learners were not actively seeking work or formal educational credentials.

Before conducting the interviews, the research team were allowed to observe two taught sessions, at both the basic and advanced level. Here we noted the teaching techniques, the atmosphere, the rapport, the delivery style and levels of engagement of the adult learners. In addition, the research team were invited to sit informally with staff and service users at a 'conversation café' following the ESOL lessons. Here the learners mixed and ate a free meal together, and were encouraged to speak to each other and practice their conversational English. This was useful as the team were able to observe the dynamics between the different migrant groups, the different levels of English proficiency and the ways in which the staff welcomed and supported the adult learners.

The interview guides and observation protocols, which focused on learner motivation, teaching practices, curriculum, the learning atmosphere and evaluation, were jointly developed by the international research team members. An observation guide was developed with key research questions and focal points. The questions included the ways in which the educators attempted to engage and motivate the learners, how the educators built on the learners existing knowledge, how dialogue was used in the teaching and learning, the atmosphere, the perceived relevance of the curriculum and the ways in which the learning was being assessed. The research team observed the sessions and made extensive notes under these broad themes. Directly after the taught session, the researchers shared their observations and discussed how the Tutors created an environment which could be considered learner centred. The semi-structured interview guide was further developed to reflect some of the points of observation which we wanted to capture from the educator and learner perspective.

Following the interviews and observation of both the taught session and conversation café, the research team shared their field notes and discussed the key findings emerging from the research. The digital recordings of the in-depth interviews were then fully transcribed and the data was thematically analysed based on the themes from the observation guide. We then looked for alignment between the emergent themes and the four elements of Schweisfurth's LCE framework (2013). The themes are presented next.

Policy into Practice: A Case Study of Community-based ESOL provision in Glasgow

The research was conducted at a Centre in 'probably has the most ethnically diverse population in Scotland' (COSLA 2015, p.12). The area has historically attracted migrants from all over the world including 'from the Highlands of Scotland; from Ireland; Jewish people fleeing persecution in Eastern Europe; people from the Punjab and other parts of the Indian sub-continent; and, most recently, Roma from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Romania and Bulgaria settling in the area' (COSLA 2015 p. 12). The population of this community rose by almost 15% between 2001 and 2010 through immigration, and has become increasingly ethnically diverse since the last Census in 2011 (Walsh, 2017). Approximately a third of this community's population is from an ethnic minority. There are a high proportion of overcrowded households (Glasgow Centre for Population Health, 2014) and many nationalities living within a small geographical area. In an interview, the Programme Coordinator highlighted the remarkable diversity of the migrant population served by the

Centre: 'We've done social surveys where we've found there are 32 languages and 52 nationalities just in 13 housing blocks ...It's very unusual in Scotland but it is the most diverse community in Scotland'. The Centre attracts a large number of people into their learning facility. On visiting the centre, the research team met with migrants from Romania, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia. Large numbers of migrant learners and their families access the classes. The staff reported that it was not unusual to have three generations of the same family (grandmother, mother and daughter for example) attend any one ESOL session. Approximately 300 people a year engaged with the service. In addition to the learning provision, the staff ran community events throughout the year to reach out to the wider migrant population in the community.

The service had grown organically and responsively, transforming over time from offering assistance to migrants to find and secure employment to English language training. As noted in the ESOL Strategy (2017) the Scottish Government has made recommendations for learning providers to consider the diverse needs of the adult learner. In interview, the staff spoke of working proactively to meet the many requirements of the migrant populations. As the staff recognised the links between language skills, employability and integration they shifted their focus. The Programme Coordinator reported, 'I think the fundamental thing is that you need a level of English to work here and there are so few jobs they need everything they can...' (Programme Coordinator).

We observed a friendly and welcoming approach of the staff at all levels in the Centre. The staff worked hard to help the migrants and tried to mitigate against some of the barriers to engagement. Taught ESOL sessions were offered once a week, with classes in the morning, followed by lunch in the ESOL café where the migrants could receive a free hot meal and practice their conversational English. The hot meal offered in the ESOL café was key to the service delivery. It allowed the opportunity for 'informal learning', as outlined in the New Scots: Refugee Integration Strategies and the Adult Learning in Scotland: Statement of Ambition. It gave a time to relax, practice spoken English and be part of a community. The Programme Coordinator summarised the offering as a 'place where people can come here and learn, they can forget about their kids and the other things and just concentrate on learning'. Adult learners emphasised the importance of the café, the welcoming environment and the hospitality to the migrant learners.

The Centre also provided a free crèche, so that the migrant parents could attend sessions and meal without the distraction of their children. The two key provisions of free childcare and a hot meal were integral to meeting the holistic needs of the migrant learners. The provision of a crèche was unique to the centre. The majority of migrants living in Glasgow would not normally have access to childcare due to the prohibitive costs and limited availability of child minding services. The staff recognised the childcare provision was a valuable tool to engage parents and families into the service: 'The crèche is important. About two thirds of our learners are women and many of them come and leave their children in the crèche. (Childcare is) a real barrier and it's so expensive. It's not possible to do this in the college or more formal setting. We need to support people where they are at' (Programme Coordinator). The free childcare was on offer to all adult learners who had pre-school children. The adult learners spoke of the importance of the crèche facility is as it allowed them to attend lessons, develop their English and meet other people.

The next four sub-sections present the data with respect to each of the interrelated elements of LCE (learner motivation, the nature of knowledge, technique, and classroom

relationships) (Schweisfurth, 2013, p.11). Whilst we have presented these as separate sections, we note that these elements should not be understood as independent, fixed binaries.

Learner Motivation: The Gendered Realities of the Adult Learners

Schweisfurth's continuum on learner motivation ranges from intrinsic to extrinsic (2013, p. 12). Participants expressed both extrinsic, aligned with the labour market and family aspirations, as well as intrinsic. The family environment has a strong influence on an adult learner's ability to learn and engage with course material. The staff noted that some learners were 'naturally resilient' and regardless of the many challenges in their home lives, they were able to attend the classes, learn English and move through the learning streams. Others however, did not progress as easily and were sometimes unable to improve on their English language skills. In many cases, this was not due to a lack of motivation, but because of the many barriers in their home environments. The staff spoke of the complex social and learning needs of a large number of migrants accessing the centre. It was known that due to over-crowding, migrant families often lived together in one communal space, sometimes with many children. The Tutor recognised that when large groups of people reside in the same room, even the most motivated adult learners could struggle to focus on their studies outside of the classroom: 'I've seen households where there is no space, where it's buzzing with children. There is a difficulty to just sit down and work.' (Tutor)

Cultural barriers also limited the uptake of educational opportunities for many migrant families. The perceived value put on adult education depended on the perceived role of the individual within the family unit. For example, men may be expected to prioritise paid employment over learning, and women may be expected to adopt caring responsibilities in the home. We saw that a large number of women learners accessed the centre in comparison to men, and this was true across the migrant groups in both the taught sessions and in the café. Female Adult Learners indicated that their primary motivation was to learn (or improve upon) written and spoken English in order to assist their children in their schooling. They saw language acquisition as important for their family's integration into Scottish society, rather than being motivated for their own economic gain: '... At this time I need my English for my kids. I can't do it properly yet. Maybe the kid's homework, I will be a help for them. I'm not thinking about the future or the jobs now' (Adult learner). Some of the younger migrants accessing the centre stated that their mothers and grandmothers were actively discouraged from enrolling in any form of post-school education. The Tutor spoke of how she had heard family members say that that a woman's place was in the home, not the classroom:

'(learning) is not seen well in some houses. One I asked why her Mum stopped coming and she said it's because of her Father... he is not happy. He wants her to cook (and) if he sees her at home doing something else, it's no good.' (Tutor)

If adult learners were unable to practice their English outside of the once-weekly session at the centre, the process of learning English could be slow and frustrating. In the interviews we heard an example of this frustration. An adult learner commented that she had limited opportunities to practice her English and this impacted on her ability to learn. She wanted English so that she could communicate more successfully with her family. Through their schooling, her teenage children could speak English fluently. The learner spoke of her wish to learn English so she could understand her children:

‘My daughter and son think it is easy for English but I think it is very, very hard. In school all the time English, then when my daughter came home, only English. My son speaks in Punjabi. I need to speak English but only here.’ (Adult learner)

Most of the women framed their motivation for learning in relationship to their families in accordance with socially constructed gender roles (Butler, 1999; Lorber, 1994). One female adult learner, however, was also motivated by personal goals of improving her confidence for herself. She had also encouraged other migrant women to use this service and engage in learning:

‘My family, they say why you go school. I say I go for my life. I go for my mum, my father and for my children. For myself. To understand more. It’s no good being at the home and do some cooking.’ (Adult learner)

The data analysis reveals a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations for attending ESOL classes.

Fluid Nature of Knowledge

A key question posed in the literature was how a Learner Centred Educator could build on the existing knowledge of the learner. Schweisfurth (2013) outlines a continuum for the nature of knowledge that ranges from fixed to fluid (p. 13). This research highlighted that a fixed curriculum would not have been effective. The classes fall very far on the ‘fluid’ end of the continuum. The migrant learners are streamed into classes based on their English ability and classroom experience. It was recognised that the migrants had diverse skill sets and life experiences, yet irrespective of background they shared a need to be able to communicate effectively in English. The classes offered ranged from rudimentary spoken English and simple reading/writing classes, to more advanced sessions for English speakers who required a higher level of English literacy. In order to live well in Scotland, the adult learners wanted to be able to speak and understand English:

‘We are here to learn English. In the community we are going to the doctor, we are going to the hospital, teachers. But we can’t speak properly. We need to speak English. We are trying but it is hard. So, we are just trying to speak. Everybody needs better English!’ (Adult learner)

There were difficulties in building on the knowledge of a migrant learner, because of the need for a shared language. The Tutor’s role was to provide the appropriate language tools for the adult learners and from this, build. Until the adult learner has a vocabulary from which to draw, building on knowledge can be problematic:

‘It’s very difficult to do unless you have the shared experience. Like if it was a lesson about jobs, they can speak about the jobs in the family or what do you do at home? It has to come from the learners, but you need to give them the vocabulary first. To get them to talk about families and what they do, first I need to give a lesson on jobs and what that involves, stuff like that. Then we have the vocabulary.’ (Tutor)

The Centre staff provided curriculum content tailored to meet the perceived information needs and interests of the migrants. No fixed curriculum had been developed for the learners; the course content was fluid with the tutors worked responsively, depending on the needs of

the people accessing the service. The staff tried to develop material which reflected the 'real life' experiences of living in Glasgow, designed to assist integration into the host communities. For example, accessing services was a key focus of the ESOL classes:

'We try and relate the curriculum back to real life, like learning about transport, health provision, local services. We certainly historically have worked with the NHS, employability services. We are better letting people know about how the school system works than building a sandcastle at the sea side.' (Programme Coordinator)

The Tutors tailored the curriculum to ensure relevant information was conveyed in the classes. For example, they found that many migrants struggled with the concept of a date of birth, as it was neither required nor recorded in their home countries. In Britain, the date of birth is used to identify and link a person to their health and social security records. The migrants reported their confusion and the many problems they encounter with the Health Service (NHS). The staff began to work with their learners to help them understand the need for a date of birth and ensure that they knew how to communicate their birth date. With this information, they were better equipped to access the services in Glasgow:

'... there are things like are important, like health (and) making appointments. Telling your date of birth, which some people don't know because it's never been recorded. (Or) if you've never been to school you may know but can't say. We have to deliver a session to help the NHS, to help them to get people to communicate their date of birth. So, we focus on this, to get it into their heads that it's very important to know.' (Tutor)

Adult learners said that they were satisfied with the content of the ESOL sessions. They trusted the Tutor's judgement and enjoyed the course content. When given the opportunity to comment on their learning, they did not criticise the programme. All stated they had no additional learning needs outside of those on offer. The adult learners in the more advanced learning stream said that they enjoyed the sessions and the weekly content:

'It is a surprise every time. We take a lesson, last time it was on Edinburgh, one time the library, the job.... The teacher knows what is best for us.' (Adult learner)

As newcomers they may not know what they need to know. The Tutors were experienced in both accessing related services and were able to anticipate relevant curriculum for the classes. The staff strived to 'do their best' for the migrants accessing the centre and worked to meet the holistic needs of their adult learners. They recognised that for learning to be sustainable, other factors which impact on the ability to learn had to be considered. The staff at the Centre tried to understand people's lived realities as refugees and asylum seekers and respond in ways that empowers the learner (new language skills, new knowledge about community services, resources etc.). The centre worked in partnership with other agencies to ensure service delivery. The staff provided English language classes but also ran information sessions on social support, housing advice and healthcare information. Government representatives were invited in to speak about Scotland's housing policy, health service, access to benefits and children's education. These services strove to work together, in partnership, to serve the complex needs of the community.

There was a feeling of mutual respect between the learners and staff at the centre. The students trusted the Tutors and welcomed their guidance. The people who accessed the centre were in particular need of support, guidance and information. The staff ensured that different

groups were able to access information and were made aware of services which were available to them. Because the Tutors understood the complex realities of their learner's lives and viewed their learners holistically, they were able to build relevant knowledge into these basic and advanced ESOL classes. Slade (2011) has argued that adult educators need to critically understand how migrant learners' lives are shaped by global capitalism, and displacement due to war and environmental crises. These adult educators at the centre understood these power dynamics and attempted to use ESOL lessons to help the learners read the world (Freire, 1993).

Technique: Flexible Delivery by necessity

Schweisfurth (2013) outlines a continuum from 'frontal, chalk and talk' to 'independent or group inquiry' (p. 11). We observed a mix of these two techniques. The Tutors did not know how many learners would attend any one ESOL session. Some migrants joined the group half way through the lesson. Due to the unknown numbers, there were sometimes very large class sizes. The Tutors managed this because they wanted to provide inclusive education to as many learners as possible. In interview, an adult learner reported that the large class sizes were for her, not a problem:

'The difference of a big or a small class – it doesn't matter. Today is a very big class. It doesn't matter. I like a big class, you get to meet other people. What matters is what the Tutor telling us.' (Adult learner)

The migrants were streamed for ability before joining a session. Each was pre-assessed to determine which learning stream best met their requirements. Occasionally the learners were moved from one class to another. This happened when the staff needed to accommodate the many skill sets in the classroom:

'...Sometimes we have to make the decision to shift people because suddenly you get 20 plus Romanians turning up suddenly! You have to sometimes organise the classes. You cannot plan. You have to move people around.' (Tutor)

The centre was well supported by volunteers, who joined the classes and offered one-to-one support for the less able learners. This helped when there was a wide range of literacy in the class. During observation, we noted that the first stream class had three volunteers on hand to support the learners. This worked out to roughly one volunteer to three migrants, although the Tutor directed the volunteers to work one-to-one with the more novice English speakers while she supported the rest of the group. Volunteers are critical to the functioning of the Centre and the classes could not function without them; they are a vital resource for the sector.

If the participants were at the stage where they could gain a qualification for their English, the staff encouraged them to join the local Further Education college. The college courses involved continual assessment and were certificated, meaning the migrant would gain a qualification. For many migrants accessing the centre, however, a commitment to a college education was not thought feasible. For example, two of the adult learners we interviewed had previously had College places but withdraw due to their family circumstances. One learner was preparing to return to formal education, but indicated that there is a long waiting list for English classes for migrants in Glasgow. The lack of childcare provision in the Further Education colleges is an additional barrier to access for the migrant mothers. One adult learner said that she would like to attend college as this would give her more

opportunities to learn English in the week, rather than just through a weekly session at the centre. However, due to her childcare constraints she could not attend until her three young children were of school age:

‘... when they 10 weeks ago tell me about college here I say do they have the crèche at the college? I say to her please you take the request for me that the college start with the crèche and I’ll be there.’ (Adult learner)

Many migrants therefore stay, unassessed, at the centre and work to improve their English at a level and pace appropriate to them.

Although the crèche was provided, we witnessed the Tutor dealing with the additional challenge of children being present in some of the ESOL sessions. In a class we observed, the mothers were called to the crèche to settle their small children. If this was not possible, the mothers brought the children into class with them. Two pre-school children were on the laps of migrant mothers throughout the ESOL session on the day we were in the centre. The Tutor said she allowed the women to bring their children in because she recognised that if not, they would need to leave the class and lose the chance to learn English. Therefore, as long as the children were not too disruptive, they were able to stay with their parent. The flexibility in course delivery and content was a necessity for this group of learners.

Classroom Relationships: Safe, Friendly and Open

The friendly relationships between staff and students was apparent to us, as observers at the centre. Schweisfurth’s continuum ranges from ‘authoritarian’ to ‘democratic’ (2013, p. 12). We found the centre staff welcoming and inclusive both inside and outside the classroom. The nurturing and positive approach of the Tutors was considered important to the project delivery, as some of the migrants accessing the centre could have had negative and damaging experiences in their pasts. An adult learner described the respectful environment and her surprise at the Tutor’s acceptance of her limited abilities:

‘I’m looking and the teacher very nice and looking at all people, asking what country? The teacher the same to them and have respect. I like very much. I say to my teacher, sorry I never went to school and I no read this or speak this and they say no problem. They have the time to do this with you, slowly.’ (Adult learner)

The Tutor was sympathetic to the vulnerabilities of the migrants in her ESOL classes. She recognised that they many may have experienced hardships and have inherent vulnerabilities. The Tutor’s solution to this was to build the relationships with her students; to show compassion, understanding and respect through her teaching:

‘Many of the learners have additional problems, loneliness, not being accepted. Many of them, their families don’t support them. This is the only thing to enjoy and feel loved. This is so important.’ (Tutor)

The positive and inclusive attitude of the Tutors, their welcoming approach and friendly and accessible manner were arguably critical to the successes of the centre. The Tutors were able to get to know their students not as refugees and asylum seekers but as people, as ‘New Scots’. We observed a range of adult learners accessing the centre, from teenage to over sixty year olds. Across the generations, the staff worked to engage and motivate the adult learners.

The social aspects of the service provision, beyond simple adult education classes, were identified as key to the service delivery by the Programme Coordinator:

'... Some may come for the café. Others because they have a good relationship with the Tutors or they need some one-to-one support. If particular families are difficult to find, they know they'll be here and so they come to find them. People's motivations are so varied.' (Programme Coordinator)

The creation of safe, friendly, social spaces promoted informal learning.

Discussion

Currently in Scotland there is a coherent, integrated policy framework aligned to the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals that supports the inclusion of refugees and asylum seekers. The ESOL policy and the numerous related policies form a coherent cradle-to-grave vision which is aligned to Scotland's National Performance Framework National Outcome on Education: 'We are well educated, skilled and able to contribute to society' (Scottish Government, n.d.). This national goal is mapped to six 2030 UN Sustainable Development Goals (goals 1,2,3,4,5,10), indicating that progress in this area will reduce inequalities, hunger, poverty and improve health and well-being and education. Scotland's policy makers have made clear links between the Sustainability Development Goals, National Priorities and adult learning and education for migrants through ESOL. This strong policy foundation promises to be strengthened as the Scottish Government refreshes both the Community Learning and Development and Adult Education and Learning strategies in 2020. With its solid social practice model as a foundation for the provision of community-based ESOL, Scotland is poised to continue to deliver effective, coordinated, welcoming programmes to migrants.

Overall, the data analysis revealed evidence of good practice, skilled provision of community-based ESOL and underfunding in one Scottish community-based organisation. When the data is analysed through the main elements of the Learner-centred framework (Schweisfurth, 2013) – motivation, nature of knowledge, delivery, classroom relationships – some interesting questions emerge. Crudely mapping the data onto the four elements reveals that some elements are more learner centred than others. Can the classes be considered learner centred if the students do not actively contribute to the curriculum? Where would a classroom be considered on the relationships scale if they are far beyond democratic, closer to familial in nature?

The data, specifically the use of volunteers, highlights the need for stable, sufficient funding to enable inclusive aspirational policies such as the 'New Scots' policy to become reality. Skilled adult educators in Glasgow are using adult education practice to foster inclusion and social justice for refugees and asylum seekers. This area of practice, within a positive policy welcoming environment, is under-researched. One of the contributions of this paper is to make visible the role that adult educators are playing in enhancing integration of refugees and asylum seekers ('new Scots') and strengthening communities as they experience rapid demographic changes. They show a critical awareness of the larger structural social and economic problems faced by refugees and asylum seekers and build these understandings into the content and delivery of their community-based ESOL classes. In community-based settings adult educators have the freedom to be this responsive to a learner's needs. Adult education is a key tool to enhance integration and make Scotland's communities stronger.

From this ‘small state’ great steps are being taken, using learner centred approaches, to ensure the holistic needs of Scotland’s migrants are being met.

Scotland is a leader in Europe with respect to policy but underfunding and jurisdictional issues could undermine its promise. While migration is essential for population growth and to help mitigate against the economic threat of an ageing population, Scotland does not have control over the policy. If the UK government follows through with a ‘hard Brexit’, there will be an end to the European Single Market and Customs Union and the end to the free movement of people. The Scottish Government has argued that curbing migration to Scotland has ‘the potential to seriously harm Scotland’s economy’ (Scottish Government 2018b, p.7) and as the people of Scotland overwhelmingly voted against the Brexit vote, the Scottish Government has petitioned for greater powers on migration. The UK policy does not support the needs of Scotland, where migrants ‘from Europe and around the world’ are welcomed ‘to live, work, study and invest here and make a long-term contribution to society as members of our communities’ (Scottish Government 2018b, p.7). At the time of writing, the direction of Brexit is uncertain. These migrants, so essential to Scotland’s future, may no longer have the right to enter and work in Britain following Brexit in 2019.

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